COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"That Honourable Gentleman's friends, out of doors, neglect no human art to display his talents to "the utmost advantage, and to detail his speeches to the Public in such a manner, that I have "never been able to recollect a single idea of his, that escaped the industrious attention of his "friends to disclose to the Public; while the speeches of a Right Honourable Friend of mine "[Mr. Windham], whose abilities are equal to his virtues, are so mangled and so confused, in the "reports that are made of them, as to be utterly unintelligible to the Public."——Mr. Burke's Speech, February 12, 1793.

LETTER IX.

TO R. B. SHERIDAN, ESQ. M. P.

SIR,—When the characteristics of the parliament, as depicted in the printed reports of these latter years, are compared with those which that assembly exhibited at almost any former period of our history; when, as pourtrayed in the same picture, its conduct during the administration of Pitt and of Addington, is compared with that which it displayed in the days of the Godolphins, the Harleys, the Walpoles, the Chathams, the Butes, and even the Norths; whenever, wherever, and by whomsoever this comparison shall be made, it is much to be apprehended, that the result will be but little advantageous to the present times. Indeed, if, proceeding upon the admitted fidelity of the press, one looks back to the administration of Sir Robert Walpole; if one opens the reported debates of that day, it is impossible to avoid a profound sense of humiliation; the contrast forces itself upon one's mind in spite of all resistance; and, while the heart sinks within one, the lips involuntarily pronounce, "how are the "mighty fallen!" Many, doubtless, are the causes, which have contributed towards this lamentable effect; but, amongst them all, there is, perhaps, no one that has had a more powerful operation than the constant use of that *low banter*, which you appear to have first introduced into debate, and which, falling in with the humour of the common people, and, for that reason, praised and industriously retailed by the news-printers, has, finally, if we are to believe the statements of these printers, obtained a certain degree of popularity even in the parliament itself. Against the display of real wit and humour, brought in by way of *auxiliary* to the reasoning powers of an orator, no sound objection can be made: wit is no proof of frivolity, much less is dullness a mark of wisdom. But, Sir, when, in reply to argument, we see *nothing* but jests; when the speech, as it is called, adheres neither to the subject in debate nor to any other subject, but wanders along from digression to digression, for an hour or two together, through a maze of incoherent bantering phrases, invented or borrowed, and evidently arranged for the occasion; and, when we are told, that this miserable farrago was cheered, and, as it were, encored, and that too by persons assembled for the purpose of making laws for the government of a great kingdom, it is impossible not to receive impressions, which, if it were easy, it would not be very pleasant, to describe.——If these impressions are powerful, and of an injurious tendency, when considered as operating upon our own minds, they are much more so when considered as to the opinions of foreigners. On the Continent of Europe, in America, and, indeed, in every part of the civilised world, the reports of the proceedings in the British parliament are read with the deepest interest; and, it requires no very long acquaintance with the politicians of other countries to convince one, that the character of this nation, and of the parliament in particular, have materially suffered from the insertion, in those reports, of the grovelling witticisms above alluded to. With those who exclaim: "what is the opinion of foreigners to us!" one cannot attempt to reason; but, though their minds are callous, their bodies are not; they have corporeal though they have no intellectual feelings; they are to be come at through the means of the enemy, and of the collector of taxes: in this way they have felt, and will yet severely feel, the consequences of having sunk in the opinions of other nations; in this way they will, when it is much too late, discover, that men do not, with impunity, suffer themselves to be degraded in the eyes of the world.——For the success which you have had in this work of degradation, you are, however, in great part, indebted to the co-operation of the London press, particularly that part of it, which is confined to the publication of political paragraphs, and of parliamentary debates; and, for this co-operation, you are principally indebted to the numerous facilities afforded you by your possession, or, at least, your command of, Drury Lane Theatre. If I am accused here of trenching upon

your *private* concerns, I must again remind you, that my mention of the theatre is rendered necessary by the manner in which, during the last session of parliament, in particular, the affairs of that theatre have been, by the public prints, connected with the proceedings in the House of Commons. In my opinion, it were sincerely to be wished, that members of parliament followed no money-making profession whatever, not, perhaps, even that of the law; but, it must, I think, be evident to every man, that the conduct of a member, in the House, ought never to be held out, by public advertisement especially, as a reason for people to give him their *custom* in the way of his trade or profession, which certainly was done, with regard to your play of Pizarro and your play-house of Drury Lane. The Volunteers, including no small portion of all the young men in town, were, upon the notification that Pizarro would be acted, requested to remember, that it was Mr. Sheridan, *who moved the vote of thanks to them*; they were invited, *therefore*, to attend the Theatre, to wear their uniforms, and to make the house a full one! Now, Sir, I do not say, that this was stated in your advertisements; I do not even say, that it was inserted in the papers by your express orders; but in the papers it was, and it never has been disavowed by you, or by any one on your behalf, but has, on the contrary, been very nearly repeated in substance every time that Pizarro has been acted at Drury Lane; and, I will venture to say, that, let the cause be where it may, so profligate, so corrupt, so scandalous, so base, and detestable a purpose never before was answered by a parliamentary vote. I do not say, nor, indeed, do I think, that it was applied to this purpose by you, or by your direction; nay, I will go further, and own, that I do not believe it was with your wish; but, it nevertheless was so applied, and, there can be no doubt, that the act was owing to that friendly connection, which has so long and so closely subsisted between you and the news-printers, and which has, in this, as in many other instances, produced effects that reflect but very little honour on the parliament. — There are many ties, by which you and the news-paper people are bound to one another, but the main cord, the great and indissoluble bond of union is the *theatre*; that theatre, which enables you to purchase praise, not with vile cash, or viler bank-notes, but with bribes conveyed in at the eyes and the ears, and, for that reason, much the most bewitching. There is, and always has been, in this country a natural alliance, a sort of family compact, between the press and the theatre; and, therefore, when the chief of the latter happens to deal in politics as well as plays, his political adversaries, unless they also have the good luck to deal in plays, combat him at a fearful disadvantage. But you, Sir, from some quality, I suppose, more than commonly amiable, have long had the press, in all its branches, completely at your command. In proof of this, there are two remarkable instances upon record. The first relates to your quarrel with Mr. Delphini, respecting a certain *plagiarism* committed upon the tricks of one of his pantomimes; and, though this affair ended in an action of *trover*, was tried in open court, and was precisely that sort of ludicrous thing which newspaper writers thirst for, as the panting pilgrim thirsts for the brook, your influence was sufficient, effectually, to prevent its appearance in print; and, it never has appeared, from that day to this, in any one of the London prints, prints at the offices of which, ill-natured and even scandalous anecdotes, relative to other people, are greedily received, and, in many instances, purchased. The other instance, to which I allude, comes under the copper-plate branch of printing. The public cannot have forgotten the set of prints, entitled "French Costumes," which appeared about the year 1798. In this collection you were represented as "president "de l'administration municipale," and the print was actually on sale for two days, at the end of which time it was not suppressed, nor destroyed, but changed, by the taking out of your face and putting that of Horne Tooke in its stead, according to which metamorphosis it has been exhibited and sold ever since!——There is nothing that meddles with type-metal or lamp-black which is not your friend, from the proprietors of newspapers, who ride in their own coaches, down to the lowest printer's devil. They are a race who are fond, even to madness, of flattery and of fun; and you have at their service an abundance of both, in return for which they seldom miss an opportunity of convincing you that your liberality is not in vain. This traffic is, in itself, very fair: it proceeds upon the principle of perfect reciprocity; and, though some squeamish persons, rather than bear a part in it, would bear themselves execrated by all the printers in Christendom, from the 1st of January to the 31st of December, dog-days inclusive; yet, if you like it, no one has a right to complain, so long as neither he himself, nor the public weal, is affected by it. But, when this reciprocity operates, whether from the intention of the parties or not, in a way injurious to the pub-

lic good; when gratitude for the diversions of the night breathes through the political paragraphs of the morning, and, particularly, when the sympathy between the boxes of the Play-House and the gallery of the House of Commons produces partiality the most glaring, misrepresentation the most shameful, and falsehood the most atrocious; when, from this cause, every man, who is opposed to you, is pretty sure to have his expressions disfigured, his arguments marred, his meaning perverted, and, as far as lies with your friends, his public character destroyed; when this is the case, every member of parliament, every man in the country, has a right to complain of this curious reciprocity. Not, perhaps, to complain of *you*; it is not at your instance, that the injury is done; and, the connection, whence it proceeds, grows out of your situation in life and not out of your particular desire. But, be this as it may, the injury *is* done, and you derive the advantage of it; and, therefore, it is just, it is expedient, it is absolutely necessary, that its cause should be developed, and that the public should be made to see, that, as far as relates to the press, you have a decided advantage over every member of the House of Commons, and that this advantage you will always preserve, unless Mr. Harris should, unfortunately for you, chance to be taken with a turn for legislation.——Naked assertions have, deservedly, but little weight with those whose suffrages are worth having; therefore, I shall give an instance of the manner in which debates, where you take a share are reported; and, not to incur the charge of partial selection, I shall appeal to the report of the very last debate, in which you spoke, I mean that of the 10th of August, relative to the Volunteers. I heard this debate myself, and I well remember every circumstance belonging to it. The principal speakers were yourself, Mr. Windham, Col. Craufurd, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. William Smith, and Mr. Francis. The speeches of the first four was each of them as long as your speech and your reply both put together; but, while the reporters have given you four, and some of them, *six columns*, they have not given three columns to the speeches of all your five opponents. To Mr. Windham and Colonel Craufurd they have given about a column each; but, Mr. Francis, who occupied the House about half an hour, and who made some remarks highly worthy of public attention, they have cut off with *two inches*; to Mr. Wilberforce, whose speech was very long and very good, they have allotted *half a column*; and Mr. Smith, who delivered one of the best speeches I ever heard, adhering, all along, close to his subject, arguing most logically, and producing conviction in the mind of every man who heard him, this gentleman's speech they have squeezed into the space of *half an inch*, and, in one of the papers, they have allowed him only a single line, as thus: "Mr. W. Smith "entered into the subject at considerable "length."——In *explanations*, which form a very important part of almost every debate, the reporters generally observe merely, that Mr. Such-an-one "explained," or, "spoke "in explanation," not stating any part of what he said; but, when you explain, however much at length, they give all you say; and, it is sometimes ludicrous enough, to see an explanation from you, relative to a matter, which, from the contraction of your opponent's speech, the reader knows nothing at all about.——Now, Sir, do you think, that this is the way, in which debates ought to be reported? that this is the way, in which the members of the House of Commons ought to be sported with? Do you think, that they ought thus to be made use of merely as your foils, as your butts? You will say, that it is not *your* fault; that you hire nobody to do what I complain of; and that, if other members are not so happy as you, with respect to the friendship of the press, it is their own fault, and not yours. Not so, Sir. It is not their fault; they have not the same means; they have not each of them a play-house, and, if they had, it is far from being certain, that they would know how to make so judicious a use of it, though they may be very honest and very able members of parliament. In one respect, indeed, it is their fault. Each individual has, at all times, the power of *clearing the gallery*; and, it must be confessed, that the gentleman, who, with a knowledge of the facts, which I have here stated, suffers himself to be misrepresented, as to any debate, in which he may be engaged against you, has nobody but himself to thank for the misrepresentation.——I was, as I before observed, present during the whole of the debate of the 10th of August; and, as the circumstances were, doubtless, such as generally occur on similar occasions, I will endeavour to describe them to you. The gallery, in consequence of your promised motion, was, at an early hour, very full, principally, however, of persons appertaining, in one way or another, to the newspapers, a sort of company at no time very pleasant; and certainly not peculiarly so in the dog-days. At the end of the longest hour and a half that I ever passed in my life, an intimation of your rising was conveyed through the crowd, not [illegible]signs such

as those which the Greeks discovered at the rising of Ulysses, but such as you may have seen amongst the boys and bumpkins at the approaching appearance of Punch, an elbowing, a jostle, a congratulatory whisper, a moulding the features into a preparatory grin, an evident anticipation of vulgar and thoughtless delight. The moment you began to speak, that moment the muscles of my neighbours gave away into a half-uttered laugh, their breath stopping suddenly in the passage and waiting for the close of your period, when out it came in nearly a state of suffocation, expressive of something betwixt a laugh and a groan. Thus was I annoyed, till relieved by the termination of your rambling harangue. Mr. Windham succeeded you, and, as yet, the reporters seemed to pursue their vocation, till Mr. Wilberforce rose, when several of them ceased to write; and, I leave any one to judge of my indignation, when, upon looking round me, at the hearing of a noise, during the admirable speech of Mr. Smith, I saw them all with their books shut, and conversing with each other, as if there had been a total suspension of the debate! I had never heard either Mr. Wilberforce or Mr. Smith speak before; and it will be readily supposed, that I did not feel any very strong prepossession in favour of either of them; nay, from some few of their opinions I dissented; but, upon the whole, the matter of their speeches was so good and so clearly displayed; their reasoning was so sound, their observations so just, and so eloquently and so forcibly urged; in short, their speeches were so well worthy of the serious attention of the public, so well calculated to produce good and extensive effect in the country, that it was absolutely impossible not to feel enraged at seeing them excluded, in order to make room for the bantering trash about Sir Andrew Agueecheek and the Magpies at Hounslow.——The history of the magpie jest, as far as relates to its insertion in the reports of the debate, is curious enough. A reporter, who sat on my right hand, and whose smell of spirituous liquors made me keep aloof from him as much as possible, having missed the passage, pestered me for several minutes to repeat the words to him, swearing that he might as well go home without his *two eyes* as without the *two pies*; "for," said he, "you cannot "imagine, Sir, how fond the public are of "Sherry's little jokes." What that public must be one may form some judgment of by casting one's eye over this famous joke, as it finally stood reported in your favourite print, the Morning Post:——"As to a comparison "between the two oppositions [the Old and "the New], under the present circumstances "it strikes me, that the old opposition might "address that of the right hon. gentleman "in the same terms as those used by the "landlord who kept the sign of the two "Magpies, at Hounslow, in his dispute with "another landlord, who thought proper to "put up the same sign, 'We are the real "'old Magpies, and you have set up your "'new opposition through spite.'—(A ge-"neral laugh)."—— This is *wit*, is it? This is English parliamentary wit? Is it not a scandal, is it not a most shameful libel, to say that this miserable, this worn-out, this thread bare, this battered old story, which has been, perhaps, for years and years, bandied about in the gin-shops of Hounslow and Brentford, excited "a general laugh," drew forth marks of approbation and delight from a British House of Commons? What will foreigners think, what *do* they, what *must* they think, upon reading the report of a debate like this? Is it possible that they should not conceive a low opinion of the persons, amongst whom it could take place? Must not the character of the government altogether, and the interests of the nation, suffer from that disadvantageous opinion? And, as to the people themselves; can any one believe, that they will, under such circumstances, entertain for the parliament that respect, that profound respect and veneration, which are necessary, essentially necessary, to the due observance of the laws which it enacts?—— Am I told, that the parliament will maintain its respectability as it hitherto has done, in spite of these liberties taken by reporters? My answer is, that the parliament has never, till within these twenty years, had the trial. It was not till the administration of Mr. Pitt, that talking became the *only* gift required in a legislator or a statesman, and that the doors of the houses of parliament were thrown open, without restraint, to the compilers and venders of speeches. I must, therefore, see the constitution live another twenty years, in spite of the efforts of the press, before I shall be ready to allow, that it has not thereby been impaired. The truth is, that the publication of the debates, in the manner, in which that publication is now conducted, has an evident and powerful tendency, totally, to destroy the liberty of speech, without which the parliament may as well not meet. Against a combination of the printers it is impossible for any member of parliament not only to do his duty, but to open his mouth, without exposing his reputation to the foulest of calumnies, spread

from one end of the country to the other. Whilst this combination exists, no member, not very well versed in debating, will, at any rate, venture to oppose you, being certain, that, in such case, he shall be represented, not only as defeated, but as being little better than an ideot. A specimen of this sort of hostility is to be seen in the Morning Post of the 22d instant, where Colonel Crauford is held up as a person fit for nothing but the sport of men of sense; and, as far as I can discern, for no earthly reason, except that he made, during the last session, speeches, to which you could find no appropriate reply. ——Under such circumstances, the members of parliament may meet, but they will be very cautious how they freely communicate their sentiments to each other; and, without such a communication, they may as well remain at home. It is notorious, that many gentlemen are deterred from speaking what they think, are deterred even from imparting to the house the knowledge which they possess, and for want of which the affairs of the nation materially suffer. When a man has boldly set the press at defiance; when he has braved its worst, then, indeed, he acts unshackled by it; but, how many such men are there? And where is the member of parliament, as yet unbespattered by the London news-press, who will not make almost any sacrifice, rather than expose himself to be covered with its poison and its filth?

Here, Sir, I put an end to this letter, and, of course, to the series, of which it forms a part, having used the utmost of my endeavours to accomplish the principal object which I had in view, and which was, to exhibit, in their true light, your public character and conduct. This duty being discharged, I should have left the rest to time and to the good sense of the public; but, perceiving that the press is now holding you up as the professed protector of an administration, whose imbecillity, if suffered still to rule, will, in my opinion, destroy both the throne and the people, I have resolved to trace your public conduct through the last thirteen years of your life *; and, thereby, enable this too credulous nation to estimate the value of that loyalty and patriotism, which you now think proper so loudly to profess.——I am, Sir, your, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Westminster, 21st Nov. 1803.

* This display of Mr. Sheridan's political conduct, is now in the press, and will be published in the course of a short time, under the title of *The Political Protest.*

TO THE EDITOR.

Τί ἂν ἐχι τελο; ὁτι κόδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεινῶν ποιούντων ὑμῶν, κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει. Δημοσθένης κατὰ Φιλιππου Α.

Hull, Nov. 17, 1803.

SIR,—The extensive preparations and formidable armaments of our enemies have long been, to the inhabitants of this town (of which I am one) the cause of much pain and anxiety. Indeed, if our vicinity to the ports of Holland, and the exposed state in which we are at present, be considered, our apprehensions are evidently not without foundation. Situated as we are, within 24 hours sail of the Dutch coast, and not far from a beach, in many places exceedingly convenient for the debarkation of an enemy, we have long considered ourselves as the "forlorn hope," *(forlorn indeed!)* should the enemy effect a landing in this part of the kingdom.——But these circumstances would not be of so much consequence, were we, *in the least*, disciplined or prepared to meet an hostile force. Instead of arming as becomes a people determined to defend the liberty of their country at the expense of their own lives, the principal inhabitants of this place meet, adjourn, "resolve, and re-resolve," and, in short, seem to be sunk into the same sluggish apathy, with which the Athenians of old were overwhelmed, and from which even the vigorous eloquence of a Demosthenes was unable to rouse them.——It is true, that we have seven hundred volunteers:—but commanded by merchants who, pampered by prosperity, and bloated by luxury, are scarcely able to undergo the fatigue of a review, and by merchants' clerks, who have assumed the sash and gorget, merely to excite the idle gaze of thoughtless females at a concert or an assembly. Yet such are our "brave defenders!" such are the men who have been thanked, by order of Parliament, for services which they are conscious they never can perform, and to the prejudice of a brave and veteran soldiery, who have deserved better of their country, than to be thus treated. And even of this miserable horde by misname called *Volunteer Soldiers*, the officers alone are clothed. As to the privates, one half only are to be armed, and the whole will not be clothed (as I have been informed by one of the officers) in less than a month or six weeks. We have likewise, about 1000 of the militia quartered in this town, but from these we cannot reasonably expect any assistance, in case of an attack, as there are not 1000

more of the military, fit to make even the shew of resistance to an enemy, between the mouths of the Humber and the Tees, an extent of coast exceeding *eighty miles*. ——Ministers in fact, Mr. Cobbett, (though this is not the place for jest) seem to be at their wit's end, and "that, seemingly," to use the expression of a facetious writer, whose name I have forgot, "no very long "tether." Absorbed in the "Serbonian "bog" of avarice and love of power, only anxious to keep possession of their ill-gotten gains, they have neglected Hull, which is far the most important town in this part of the kingdom, and attending only to the demands of the county members, who well know that nothing will be refused to men of their influence, have supplied the inland towns, such as Leeds and Halifax, with a full quota of arms, whilst only half of the few and miserable volunteers, which we have been able to raise, are accoutred.—— You probably, Mr. Cobbett, as well as myself, may have seen in the ministerial prints a formidable account of a park of artillery, said to be at this place. That account I can assure you, Sir, is false; as we have in the garrison only about thirty pieces of old ordnance, and two or three field pieces, under the direction of a small company of artillery. You may likewise have seen it stated in the same prints nearly two months since, that six block ships, destined for the defence of the Humber had sailed from the Nore, but these have never arrived, and I am inclined to doubt whether they ever existed, otherwise than in the imagination of some ministerial hireling. It has likewise been asserted, on the same authority, that several trains of artillery have left London for the formation of batteries on this part of the coast, but "*ab uno, disce omnes:*" and I fear that these and the block-ships will, in the end, be found to have æ'al existence.——But, Sir, on such things I find it disgusting any longer to dwell, for the sole purpose of giving utterance to the painful feelings, which they never fail to excite, when they enter my recollection.——Let me, therefore, conclude in the words of your correspondent, Juverna, "God bless you, Mr. Cobbett, and God preserve us through the winter." ANDREW MARVEL.

PARTIES.

Upon this subject it may not be amiss for us to hear the opinions of foreign nations; and, just at this time, people may, perhaps, think the opinion of the American nation worth hearing, seeing that we are now engaged in a negotiation with it, on which negotiation depends the permanent maritime power of this country. At such a time, to know the opinion which a nation entertains of our ministers and public men, is certainly not uninteresting; and, in order to convey to the Public this information, the following extracts have, without much trouble taken in the selection, been made from a Charleston (South Carolina) paper, entitled the Courier, and dated, the former extract on the 27th of August, and the latter on the 9th of September last.——It will be said, perhaps, that there are *two parties* in America: there are; one favourable to England, and the other favourable to France; and, the sentiments of these extracts will clearly prove, that they are taken from a paper devoted to that party, which is the friend of England and the enemy of France.

Extract of August 27.

Under the fostering influence of a Junto, a series of weak and wicked administrations, long governed England and governed the King. All of them, however, but the puppets and mouth-pieces of the secret Cabinet. The conduct of those ministers, with respect to America, and the subsequent separation of this part of the world from England, rendered it necessary for the Junto to give way. The Marquis of Rockingham brought virtue, popularity, and talent into the Cabinet. England was barely saved from ruin when that admirable nobleman died—a death which England did, through all its classes, lament deeply, but never could lament enough. His successor and nephew, Lord Fitzwilliam, and the Duke of Portland, afterwards were in for a short time, but were not able to stand against the old *curse of England—the influence behind the throne*. The present Lord Liverpool, father of Lord Hawkesbury, had, when he was Mr. Jenkinson, been secretary to Lord Bute, and got through different offices of the state into the inner Cabinet, where he has retained his influence to this day.——It is a vulgar error to suppose that Mr. Pitt had ever, or that Mr. Fox ever had a party. Neither of them was deeply enough rooted in the soil; but being the prominent persons lately, and the leaders in the House of Commons of the prominent parties, their names were given to them. At the beginning of the French Revolution, Mr. Pitt was the leader in the House of Commons of one party, and, Mr. Burke having greatly declined the parliamentary business to devote himself to India affairs, Mr. Fox was leader of the Portland party. On that occasion,

Mr. Fox and a very small number refused to follow the Duke and his party, and filed off into what was called not a party, but a phalanx. The party itself joined the administration of that day, but while they served, by their established integrity, to give it strength and popularity on the general business of the war, had not weight sufficient to control its errors, or to carry into effect the plans which their wisdom, virtue, and sound policy, suggested in the prosecution of it. ——The same unpropitious influence now sways British affairs uncontrouled, unmixed, and unchecked. To that influence the people of England are indebted for the treaty of Amiens. And against that influence neither the virtues of the Grenville party, nor the talents of Pitt are of any avail. Yet, how comes it to pass, or on what principle can it happen to be so?——When the preliminary articles of the treaty were laid before the Parliament, the Grenville party alone censured and resisted them: on that occasion they rested their objections to the articles chiefly on the ample means they would afford to the First Consul of gratifying his own private ambition, and indulging the French people in that first wish of their hearts, the extension of the French empire and the ruin of England. The speech of that able and virtuous statesman, Mr. Windham, will never be forgotten by those who heard, or those who have read it. It ought to be engraven in tablets of gold. In that speech he predicted all that has since been done by Buonaparté, to occasion the renewal of hostilities. On that occasion he was oppugned not only by the peace-making cabinet, but by Mr. Pitt himself, who approved the peace, (how he can reconcile the two things it is hard to conceive) though he but a few months before declared that Buonaparté certainly would not confine himself within the terms on which alone peace could be preserved, and that therefore peace with him was unsafe.——One would think that the prospective wisdom, and the glowing, patriotic spirit exhibited by that party upon that occasion, would have entitled them to the first rank in the opinion of the King and Parliament: particularly as it was known that Mr. Windham personally ranks as high as any man in the King's favour and good opinion, and that on the subject of peace the King entirely coincided with him. But the *old influence behind the throne* prevails over every thing—even Pitt himself melts away before it.——It has rather an inauspicious appearance, however, the going to war under the guidance of a cabinet *from which the whole talent, and the greater part of the virtue of the state are excluded.* For the sake of mankind, for the sake of every independent nation on earth—for our own sake, as Americans looking forward into time, we lament that things are in that train; and under such auspices we must wish, though it certainly would be presumptuous to hope very sanguinely, for success to the general cause against the enemy of the world—the destroyer of human freedom and happiness.

Extract of September 9.

It has been remarked that in all free constitutions, and in none more than England, rigid virtue operates as an exclusion at once from high trust and from popular favour. He who honestly and honourably disdains the vile trick of courting the multitude, and entrapping them by mischievous adulation, but on the contrary tells them the truth against their will, and points out what is good for them, however unpalatable, is sure not to be popular: he who equally disdains the fawning and cringing of the courtier, and will shew the court, that, while he is ready to support just, moderate power, he is ready to control its excesses also, will never be a court favourite—that is to say, will never be a favourite with the efficient executive, that is to say, the established ministry. This is the case with Mr. Windham, whose talents fit him for the first offices in any commonwealth, whose rigid integrity all parties readily admit, but whose dignified abhorrence of political trick, concealment, and duplicity, make the shabby statesmen of perverted, narrow, crooked views, who generally rule the roast, dislike him and fear him. His sincerity, or as Mr. Sheridan once (attacking the ministers of that day for carrying their duplicity so far as to fear Mr. Windham's speaking) aptly called it "generous indiscretion;" and the fixed principle which he avows that fair, open, sound dealings with the people, whether palatable or unpalatable to them, is the only sound and dignified policy, will keep him out of office, until a set of men of integrity equal, or nearly equal with himself, shall be collected into an administration—but where will they get them? *It is in struggles, such as that in which England is now engaged, one would think, that men of that description ought to be brought forward.* But to such men as those who rule the British Cabinet, a royal tyger or a roaring lion would not be less welcome than a Windham. He has the sagacity to detest, spirit to chastise, and integrity to expose their faults.——To the talents of this gen-

tleman the first men have borne testimony. When he was yet young, Lord Lyttleton said he could perceive in him the making of the greatest, and best man in England. He was the heart's own chosen of Mr. Burke, who considered him, taking natural talents, learning, and integrity together, out of sight the first man in England. If he had not the "*copia verborum*," and splendid eloquence of Pitt, or the gigantic powers of Fox, which Burke to the last considered as unexampled in the world,—he was more logical than the one, more refined than the other, and more learned than both Those qualities, with his unbiased, inflexible integrity, his ardent patriotism, and his spotless private character, set him far (Burke thought) above any other statesman in England.——A proof of the excellence of this great man is, that he is more than all England beside, abhorred by Buonaparté, and by all enemies to his Sovereign and his country.

That these extracts are not fabricated for the purpose any one may be convinced, who reflects, how easy detection would be, and how completely disgraceful to the person detected. At the Philadelphia, the Carolina, the New York, and several other coffee-houses, in the city of London, the newspapers, which I have quoted, may, at any time, be seen. But, it is not the Charleston papers alone, in which sentiments of this sort are to be found; the same are to be met with in *all* the prints of the United States, from one end to the other of which, and amongst people of all parties, ranks, and descriptions, there prevails, with respect to the present ministers of England, a degree of contempt which there appears to be a want of words to express. No wonder that the American negotiator holds high and menacing language! no wonder that he threatens! We shall now most dearly pay for silently submitting to ministers, whom we know to be justly despised by every nation whither a knowledge of their deeds has reached, and whom we ourselves despise from the bottom of our souls, but whom, from a mixture of cowardice and suspicion, from a base distrust in our own powers and from a baser envy of men of great talents, we are suffering to drag us down to ruin and infamy. It is not yet too late to retrieve the honour of the country, and to restore her to the proud rank which she formerly held among the powers of Europe, but without an honourable union of wise and brave men, she must perish.

KING'S SPEECH

To both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday the 22d November, 1803.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Since I last met you in Parliament, it has been my chief object to carry into effect those measures which your wisdom had adopted for the defence of the United Kingdom, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. In these preparations I have been seconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of my people, in a manner that has, if possible, strengthened their claims to my confidence and affection: they have proved that the menaces of the enemy have only served to rouse their native and hereditary spirit; and that all other considerations are lost in a general disposition to make those efforts and sacrifices which the honour and safety of the Kingdom demand at this important and critical conjuncture.——Though my attention has principally been directed to the great object of internal security, no opportunity has been lost of making an impression on the foreign possessions of the enemy. The Islands of St. Lucia, of Tobago, of St. Pierre, and Miquelon, and the settlements of Demerara and Essequibo, have surrendered to the British arms. In the conduct of the operations by which those valuable acquisitions have been made, the utmost promptitude and zeal have been displayed by the officers employed on those services, and by my forces acting under their command by sea and land.——In Ireland, the leaders, and several inferior agents, in the late traitorous and atrocious conspiracy, have been brought to justice; and the public tranquillity has experienced no further interruption. I indulge the hope, that such of my deluded subjects as have swerved from their allegiance are now convinced of their error; and that having compared the advantages they derive from the protection of a free Constitution, with the condition of those countries which are under the dominion of the French Government, they will cordially and zealously concur in resisting any attempt that may be made against the security and independence of my United Kingdom.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have a perfect reliance on your public spirit for making such provision as may be necessary for the service of the year. The progressive improvement of the revenue cannot fail to encourage you to persevere in the system which has been adopted. of defraying the expenses of the war, with as lit-

tle addition as possible to the public debt, and to the permanent burthens of the State. ——I lament the heavy pressure which, under the present circumstances, must unavoidably be experienced by my people; but I am persuaded that they will meet it with the good sense and fortitude which so eminently distinguish their character, under a conviction of the indispensable importance of upholding the dignity, and of providing effectually for the safety of the Empire.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have concluded a convention with the King of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting all the differences which have arisen on the subject of the eleventh article of the treaty of 1661. I have directed that a copy of this convention should be laid before you; and you will, I trust, be of opinion that the arrangement, whilst it upholds our maritime rights, is founded on those principles of reciprocal advantage which are best calculated to maintain and improve the good understanding which happily subsists between the two countries.——In the prosecution of the contest in which we are engaged, it shall be, as it has ever been, my first object to execute as becomes me, the great trust committed to my charge. Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cause, it is my fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our constitution, our religion, our laws, and independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable spirit of my faithful subjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all those valuable interests which are involved in the issue of this momentous contest.——Actuated by these sentiments, and humbly imploring the blessing of Divine Providence, I look forward with a firm conviction, that if, contrary to all just expectation, the enemy should elude the vigilance of my numerous fleets and cruizers, and attempt to execute their presumptuous threat of invading our coasts, the consequence will be to them, discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace; and that our's will not only be the glory of surmounting present difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the solid and permanent advantage of fixing the safety and independence of the kingdom on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energy and resources.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.——The Paris papers of the 7th inst. contain a letter from Vienna, of the 25th of October, stating, that almost all Turkey is in a state of insurrection, and that the rebellion which broke out in Egypt has extended into Syria and Asia. In Europe, four other rebels have joined Passwan Oglou, and the brigands of Romelia have re-appeared. Several couriers have arrived at Vienna with dispatches from Constantinople, and an extraordinary meeting of the Cabinet has been held, in consequence of those communications.——The Hamburgh papers, however, give a more favourable account of the affairs of the Grand Signior. They say that Alexandria is not wholly lost; that Abdul Wachab has retired into the desert; that a large body of troops has been stationed near the coasts of the Morea; and that a Turkish army is assembling near Sophia, one column of which will march into Greece, and the other into the vicinity of Belgrade. They also say that complaints have been made to the different Foreign ministers at Constantinople, that many Albanese had been transported, in European vessels, to Cairo, to join the rebels at that place: and, that in consequence of those complaints, the Russian Ambassador had proposed that no Albanians should be suffered to emigrate in any European vessel whatever.——Arrangements have been made for a change in the Cabinet of Petersburgh. Count Woronzow the Russian Ambassador at London, is to succeed his brother, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and, it is said that his place will be filled by Count Kalitchew.——A Hanoverian corporal, who had been engaged in recruiting for the British service, was lately seized and tried by a French court-martial, and condemned to fifteen years hard labour at the fortifications.—— In Holland, the contributions on the first instalment of the tax of two per cent on all property, which was called a voluntary gift to government, have fallen so far short of expectation, that the administration has represented to the Legislative Body, the necessity of enforcing payment upon oath: and an act to that effect is daily expected.——A notice was published at Lloyd's Coffee house, last week, that the captain of a vessel which had arrived at Yarmouth, had brought intelligence from Toningen, that all English vessels at Lubeck had received notice to quit that port without delay, and drop down to Travemunde, and that they were, accordingly, making every preparation for departing. It was also said, that this was a measure of precaution, rendered necessary by the daily expectation of the city being taken possession of by the French.——Gen. Berthier, chief of the staff of the French army in Hanover, has demanded loans of the cities of

Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburgh, for the purpose, he says, of relieving the Hanoverian states. The two former cities have not yet complied with his demand, but the Senate of Hamburgh, where he was in person, has, after some demurring, agreed to pay two millions and a half of marcs banco; part of which is to be paid immediately, and part within a very short time. Berthier behaved with great violence, and said, that if the Senate did not agree to his demand, he knew the rich individuals of the city, and would compel them to supply the sums which he required; and, at the same time, threatened to quarter French troops on the inhabitants of the city. The English Consul made no attempt to interfere in the affair, because, it is said, he had received no instructions from his court.——Le Brun, brother of the third Consul, was the successful candidate for the vacant seat in the Senate, notwithstanding the eminence and the influence of Boissy d'Anglas, and Gen. St. Suzanne, who were his competitors.——The First Consul left Paris on the 3d inst. on his journey to inspect the preparations which have been making for invading England. He was followed by the Minister of Marine, the Dutch Admiral Varheul, Gen. Marmont, and several other officers of distinction. His intended route is not known, but he has gone first to Boulogne, whence he will visit the ports of France situate on the Channel. According to the *Journal du Commerce*, he will go to Dunkirk and thence to Nieuport, Ostend, Bruges, and Breskens; whence he will pass the Scheldt and visit Flushing; thence he will go to Verre, Middlebourg, West Capelle, and from thence to the Isle of South Beveland; whence, passing the East Scheldt, he will go to Bergen-op Zoom, Breda, Antwerp, Brussels, and Ghent. The same paper asserts that Buonaparté will have an interview with the King of Sweden, before his return.—— On the 6th inst. a meeting of the Senate was held at Paris, at which the third Consul presided. On the 7th Buonaparté was still absent from the capital.——It was reported that Admiral Bruix had died at Boulogne; this report, however, is contradicted in the last papers from Paris.——A vessel just arrived at Plymouth, after a passage of nine days from Bilboa, brings intelligence, that when the information arrived there, of the order which had been given at the Custom-house of London, to prohibit the sailing of vessels for Spain or Portugal without convoy, an order was immediately issued to prevent the departure of all vessels for England, laden with wool.

DOMESTIC.——A person named Hart, who was charged with having been one of the leaders in the insurrection, was arrested at Dublin on the 14th inst. He was surrounded by a party of his friends, and made a violent resistance, but a serjeant in the army, who had been sent alone to his house, succeeded in bringing him off.——Mr. Kiernan of Enniskellen, who had been committed to Kilmainham goal, on a charge of high treason, was liberated by a warrant from Mr. Secretary Wickham on the 16th.——Mr. Tandy is now in Kilmainham goal, together with a considerable number of others who were concerned in the late conspiracy.—— The London Gazette of the 22d inst. contains an order of the King in council, authorising his Majesty's subjects to trade with Demarara and Essequibo, on the same footing as with the British colonies and plantations in the West-Indies.——The King has been pleased to appoint James Mackintosh, Esq. to be Recorder of Bombay in the room of Sir William Syer, deceased.——The East India Company has voted ten thousand tons of shipping, as armed transports for the defence and protection of the coast.——The session of parliament was opened on the 22d inst. with the usual formalities, with a gracious speech delivered by his Majesty from the Throne. In the House of Lords, the address was moved by the Marquis of Sligo, and seconded by the Earl of Limerick; in the House of Commons it was moved by the Hon. Cropley Ashley, and seconded by Mr. Berkeley Burland. There was a very general attendance of the members in both Houses. In the House of Lords the address was voted without any speaking but by the Lords who moved and seconded it. In the House of Commons, Mr. Fox took notice that there was no allusion to the mediation of Russia, which ministers had promised to avail themselves of; he also said, that it was idle to calculate on the tranquillity of Ireland, unless the system under which it had been governed, were completely changed. Mr. Addington, in answer, said that the mediation of Russia had failed in producing any arrangement of the differences between England and France, and that circumstances existed, at this time, which prevented him from laying the documents before the House. He deprecated all discussion on the other subject alluded to by Mr. Fox, but said, that if it came regularly before parliament he would meet it fairly. Sir Francis Burdett, also, spoke, and took occasion to reprobate the conduct of a committee of the volunteer corps of two of the parishes in the county which he represented. He condemned the volunteer system altogether, as

infinitely more expensive and less effective than a system of regular defence. On the reading of the address, on the following day, Mr. Windham took a short view of the condition to which the country was reduced by the incapacity of the ministers, whom he thought totally incompetent to meet the dangers of the times: on the subject of Ireland, he declared his agreement to the observations which had been made by Mr. Fox.

MILITARY.——The army which has been assembled, for some time past at Ostend, under the command of Gen. Oudinot, has gone into barracks there. The brigades of the line and the light troops at Bruges have been formed into regiments, and their chiefs have received the title of Colonels. The troops both at Ostend and Bruges are in a state of perfect readiness to embark, and only wait the completion of the boats which are to transport them. They are daily exercising on board the gun boats, both in embarking and debarking.——Two camps are forming near Dunkirk, one of which will consist chiefly of the Consular guards. From the 24th of October, to the 2d of November, thirty battalions of infantry of the line and light troops, four regiments of hussars and chasseurs, and different corps of horse and foot artillery, have arrived at the places of assembling, between Dunkirk and Boulogne. Some troops have also been sent from Dunkirk to Boulogne, where the First Consul has commenced his tour of military inspection.——The service along the French coast is said to be divided in the following manner: Gen. Dupas is to command between Boulogne and Havre; Col. La Houssaye from Havre to Concale; Gen. Le Marois from Concale to Brest; Gen. Sebastiani from Brest to Villaine; Gen. La Coste from Villaine to Bourgneuf; and Gen. Paulet in the department of La Vendée.——The troops at St. Maloes do duty constantly on board the flotilla: they were reviewed on the 26th of October, by Gens. Malesherbes and Rene, and will be immediately embarked in the boats which have lately arrived there.——The prefect of the department of Dyle, where some of the military requisitionists, lately, proved refractory, has delivered in an additional list of disobedient conscripts, and heavy fines will be immediately levied upon their relations.——It was reported that part of the French troops which had been sent into Italy, and had marched to the borders of the Adriatic, had crossed over to the Morea: recent accounts, however, state that those troops are still there, but that preparations are making for an expedition.——Gen. Dessolles, it is said, is to have the command of the French troops in the Italian Republic.——The terms of the capitulation of Demarara and Essequibo have just been published. They stipulate, that the laws, religion, mode of taxation, constituted authorities, and the civil, legal, and ecclesiastical establishments of the colony shall remain the same; that the inhabitants shall not be molested for what they have done, and that, during the war, they shall only be obliged to take up arms to quel internal commotions; that all the demands which would have been paid by the government, if the colony had not been taken, shall be paid; that the sea and land forces stationed there shall be considered as prisoners of war, and shall be transported, at the expense of the British government, to a Batavian port; that the Batavian troops shall be allowed certain quarters, where they are to remain under the command of their own officers, until they are embarked; that the sick shall be taken care of; and that no negroes shall be required of the planters for forming black-corps. In consequence of these articles, Fort William Frederick was given up to the British troops, and the Batavian ship Hippomenes to the British seamen, on the evening of the 19th of September; the Hornet and the Netley were then allowed to pass into the harbour of Demarara, and on the 20th, at noon, the colonies were taken possession of in the name of his Majesty.——In a letter written by Lord Hobart, on the 5th instant, refusing to grant permission to Gen. Nogues, the late French Commander at St. Lucia, to return to France, on parole, he says, "that, as the First Consul has, in "open contempt of the rights of all civi-"lized nations, detained, as prisoners of "war, all the subjects of his Majesty, who, "during the short interval of peace, had "continued in France, no Frenchmen ac-"tually taken in arms, with the exception "of those regularly exchanged, can, in any "case, be permitted to leave the British "shores."—— Mr. Macleay, Sec. of the Transport Board, in a letter written on the 31st of October, to Gen. Morgan, a prisoner of war, on his parole, says, "that, "under existing circumstances, it has been "judged expedient to remove prisoners of "war, on their parole, from places on the "coast, or in its neighbourhood, to places "in the interior: that the distance to "which they are removed does not exceed "one hundred and seventy miles, while "British prisoners in France are sent to a "distance of five hundred miles from the "coast." He also says, "that more than

" two months have elapsed since Capt. Ju-
" vien, late commander of a French frigate,
" was allowed to go to France, on his pa-
" role, as the bearer of a special proposition
" to the Minister of Marine, relative to a
" general cartel for the exchange of pri-
" soners: that, since the time of his depar-
" ture, no answer has been received; that,
" not a single British prisoner has been
" suffered to return to England, and only
" fifteen British subjects have been allow-
" ed to return, though not less than four
" hundred French sailors have been sent
" back since the commencement of hosti-
" lities."——The Yeomanry Corps of the City of Dublin were reviewed on the 9th instant, in Phœnix Park, by Lord Cathcart, who expressed high satisfaction at their appearance and conduct.——The Cinque-port Volunteers have been placed on duty for three weeks, from the 19th instant. Mr. Pitt, who informed them of his Majesty's pleasure in that respect, told them, that during that period they were to be placed completely under military law. —— Gen. Dundas has been on board the Immortalité frigate, during a cruize off Boulogne, to examine the appearance of the military preparations on that part of the French coast. ——The Adjutant-General of his Majesty's Forces has sent an order to the different Generals commanding districts, informing them, that it is the Commander in Chief's pleasure that they should direct the Officers commanding the Regular and Militia Regiments within their districts, immediately to deliver the whole of the spare arms in possession of their regiments, into the nearest Ordnance Depôt.——Orders were issued at Chatham barracks on the 19th instant, for the brigade of Guards to march in there on the 21st, for the West Middlesex Militia to march on the 22d to Ospringe barracks; the Warwick Militia to Rochester, Chatham, and Stroud on the 21st, and the Derby Militia to Canterbury on the 21st and 22d.

NAVAL.—The naval preparations of the Batavian Republic are nearly completed, and will, in the course of a short time, be sufficient to transport forty thousand men to the shores of Great Britain. A squadron of large ships is assembling in the Texel; fifty flat-bottomed boats are ready at Rotterdam, where a frigate has just been launched, and where there are nine gun-schooners on the stocks, nearly ready for launching; considerable numbers of flat-bottomed and gun-boats are also ready at Amsterdam, and at the Hague.

(*To be continued in the next sheet.*)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

KING'S SPEECH.—The love and veneration which I entertain for the gracious Sovereign, to whom, since I first drew my breath, I have been indebted for that liberty and security, that civil and political happiness, which are enjoyed by his subjects, and by his subjects only, would effectually prevent me from making those remarks, which I am now about to make, upon the speech from the throne, were it not an established maxim, founded in fact as well as on the principles of the monarchy, that the speech contains the words of the Minister, and not of his Majesty. The King speaks in his proclamations; yet these are always attributed to the Ministers. In truth, the speech from the throne can be regarded in no other light than a ministerial *measure*: it is composed by the ministers, it is laid before the cabinet, where it is read, discussed, and agreed on, by a majority of voices, in the same way that every other measure is, previously to its being submitted to the King, who, in this, as in all other cases, *can do no wrong*, and who, as long as his ministers remain in power, must ever be supposed to be guided by their counsel; because on them alone the responsibility must fall.—Viewing the speech in this light, I shall proceed to offer thereon such observations as appear to me best calculated for conveying, to my readers, whatever information I may possess on the topics before them.——FIRST: as to the "*voluntary exertions*" of all ranks of people, if it be not meant to boast of the reliance to be placed on volunteer corps, there can be no objection to the remark; for, most assuredly, there never were a people more ready to make exertions and sacrifices, than the people of this country have been, and yet are. "All other considerations are lost in the "general disposition" to maintain the honour and safety of the kingdom. This is most true: the people are ready to give their heart's blood; but, that their zeal and efforts have been duly seconded by the ministers, there is not one man in a thousand who will not deny. Measures necessary for the defence of the kingdom have not been adopted, nor has there taken place any one circumstance, which can authorize the assertion, that we are, or have been, engaged in a "vigorous prosecution of the war."—SECONDLY: that an impression has been made on the "*foreign possessions of the ene-*" *my*" is true, if the taking of colonies which the said enemy threw away, as of no consequence in the contest, be worthy of being termed making impression. Colonies

are not less valuable, in themselves, because acquired without exertion; but, as objects of national concern, as subjects of a speech from the throne, as circumstances of a war, and as exhibiting traits of national character, they certainly are; and, in this respect, all the colonies enumerated in the speech, are in value infinitely inferior to the rocks of St. Marcou. Nevertheless, the colonies, which we have taken possession of, are of vast importance, especially Demerara and Essequibo. Their produce will materially assist in feeding the exchequer, in preventing, for a while, the monstrous increase of internal taxes, the consequent increase of bank-notes, the rapid depreciation of money, and the total disappearance of gold and silver. But, the present ministers ought, if they have not abandoned all notions of consistency, all political principle, all decency, studiously to refrain from setting a very high value upon colonies, which they, only about a year ago, surrendered even without a nominal equivalent, and the possession of which they not only declared to be useless, but injurious to Great-Britain generally, and particularly as relating to her consequence and security in Europe.* No mention is, indeed, made of the "fearful black Empire," in Saint Domingo, in order to destroy which a French fleet and army were suffered to go from Europe, during the negotiations for peace; and, in order to revive and re-establish which there is now employed a considerable portion of that maritime force, which might otherwise be employed in protecting our own coast, or in annoying that of the enemy; but, if the present ministers should be suffered to retain their power a few months longer, we may expect to see another Toussaint acknowledged as Sovereign of the island; and to hear of another treaty, made for the purpose of having another opportunity of stamping perfidy on the character of England.—THIRDLY: with regard to the state of *Ireland*, the speech, though expressive only of a hope, is certainly far too sanguine: any notion, with respect to that unhappy country, short of imminent and constant danger will prove false and destructive. The flattering descriptions drawn by the ministerial members, and by ministers themselves; not only during the last session of parliament, but ever since the signing of the preliminaries of peace, having proved so wretchedly delusive, it is to be hoped, that such devices will not, either at present or hereafter, be attended with similar success; it is to be hoped, that, when people recollect the boasts, which were made respecting the tranquillity of Ireland, at the very moment when a new rebellion was upon the point of breaking out; when the following expressions of Mr. Addington are remembered: "I know, Sir, there have "been periods, when there were persons in "the country, who would have overturned "its most excellent constitution; but, *thank* "*God*, these times *are past*; and I do be-"lieve, that, through the whole of this "united kingdom, there never was a mi-"nute, when the people were more satisfied "with their government, or more unani-"mous in their determination to support "and defend it; and, it is with some de-"gree of *pride*, I can say, that the chief "cause of this happy effect is the so much "reprobated treaty of peace. Before that, "there had for some time prevailed, an opi-"nion, that the war might have been sooner "terminated; but now, though it is so soon "renewed, every one is sensible of its injus-"tice on the part of the enemy, and the "whole people are ready to join, heart and "hand, in defence of their king and coun-"try, and, if necessary, to die in that cause. "I know, Sir, it was necessary, for the se-"curity of the kingdom, to continue, for "some time, the suspension of the Habeas "Corpus act, and some others; but I know, "that, to the peace we owe *the restoration* "*of those valuable bulwarks* of the constitu-"tion, and they are not amongst the least of "*its blessings*." When these expressions are remembered, and when it is also remembered, that they were made use of, in the House of Commons, by the Prime Minister, and that too on the 18th of July last, just *five days* before there broke out a rebellion, of a nature and extent, to induce this same minister to call on Parliament, not *only* for a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, but

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* "My right hon. friend [Mr. Windham] says, "that, in order to preserve the strength of our "marine, and secure the extent of our commerce "and navigation, we ought to have extended our "colonial system by refusing to surrender the "conquests, which we made in the war, in order "to counterbalance the power of France. But, "to this, I answer, that relinquishing what we "had conquered was the *only pledge for our security*; "and, that it is by defending our own posses-"sions, and *not* in the extension of our territories "*by conquests*, that we hold the best sureties for our "rights as well as for the extension of our com-"merce."——Mr. Addington's Speech, 29th Oct. 1801.

"I perfectly agree with my noble friend [Lord "Hawkesbury] in thinking, that we ought to "guard, with great care, *against* any tendency to "*increase* the colonial system of this country."—Mr. Addington's Speech, Nov. 3, 1801.

"If I were called upon to say, what would "have the greatest effect in *restoring* our influence "on the Continent, I should say: *give back to* "*France her colonial possessions*."—Lord Castlereagh's Speech, May 14, 1802.

also, for an authority, to exercise martial law upon the whole people of Ireland; when these things are remembered, weak and credulous indeed must be the Parliament and the nation, if they now repose any confidence in the mere *hopes*, which, on the present occasion, have been expressed by this minister and his colleagues. Since the measures here adverted to were adopted, it has, indeed, been frequently asserted, by the partizans of the ministry, that the rebellion in Ireland was, at bottom, but a very trifling occurrence. On the state trials, the Attorney-General, Mr. Marsden's friend and creature, has called it, a "*contemptible riot*;" and, in a pamphlet, written by Mr. Marsden himself, the whole is turned almost into ridicule; thus: "We found that Lord Kilwarden had "been *taken by accident*, and *murdered without pre design*—that the total number of "lives lost on all sides hardly exceeded "twenty—that the nineteen counties, in despight of a few agitators, were obstinately "tranquil—that the rebels had never even "approached the castle—and that government had taken every measure of mild "precaution and dignified resolution with "which it was provided. The nervous fit "was now over—general loyalty—universal "confidence—energetic unanimity of all "ranks and classes, became a most proud "and satisfactory pledge, that the fears of "the past had been *vain*, and the prospects "of the future were security and strength. "Thousands of yeomen, tens of thousands "of loyalists started up in a moment, and "the success of this *contemptible riot* now "appeared to have been, as it really was, "*physically impossible*."—These words are taken from a pamphlet, which is, entiled, "the Opinion of an Impartial Observer, concerning the late Transactions in Ireland," and which has just been published in Dublin, for the purpose of being circulated by the government there, by way of answer to the charges preferred in the Register.—Now, as to the point in question, if this statement be true; if that which was called the rebellion in Ireland, was, in reality, nothing more than "a contemptible riot," how is the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, and, indeed, of the Parliament, to be justified? The former, for demanding an Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, and also a Martial-Law Bill, both to be run through three readings and passed, in one night; and, the latter, for yielding to that demand? Where, if this statement be true, where shall we look for their justification? This is the dilemma, to which the two administrations have reduced themselves: either the affair in Dublin was a "contemptible riot," or it was not; if the latter, the Irish administration are circulating a falsehood; if the former, the ministry here have procured a martial-law bill to be passed, with respect to Ireland, on an occasion where even the riot act would scarcely have been read in Great-Britain; and where, most assuredly, not a single soldier would have been suffered to come out to the assistance of the civil magistrate! Do not these things call for an inquiry? The fact is, that it is, in the administration of the government of Ireland, that we ought to look, for the cause of those terrible dangers, with which the monarchy is threatened from that quarter; and, of whatever party men may be, if they have common discernment, they must be convinced, that, in this respect, the sentiments of Mr. Fox are perfectly correct; and that, without a radical change in the department alluded to, Ireland never will again be restored to a state of tranquillity. Commercial arrangements, military execution, legislative union, and, finally, the nauseous Addingtonian "mixture of conciliation and "firmness," have been alternately tried, and have all proved equally inefficacious; Ireland, instead of being a powerful support, is a mill-stone round the neck, of Great-Britain; and a mill-stone too, that will, if measures of prevention are not speedily adopted, sink her to a depth, from which she will never emerge.—FOURTHLY: the "*progressive* "*improvement of the revenue*," if one could forget the fallacious statements of the minister, would be some little source of consolation, especially when one recollected, that this progression goes on again *in war*. But, that the system of war-taxes is to be persevered in, no man that knows any thing of the effects of taxation, can, under the present circumstances, possibly regard as matter of congratulation; especially when he reflects, that there are now about fifteen hundred armed clubs, or committees, who have a deliberative faculty, who are admirably calculated for affiliation, and who will most assuredly deliberate on matters of peace as matters of war. The last peace was made professedly, because the war no longer had an object, except that of reducing the power of France, the certainty of succeeding in which, the ministers declared, not to be worth the expense of one more campaign *. When, therefore, the present war, expensive, harrassing, and distressing as it has been

* "To those who wished to continue the war "for the purpose of *reducing the power of France*, "I wish to state, that another campaign could "not have been made at less expense than forty "millions. Even *certain success* would not have "been worth such a price."—Mr. Addington's Speech, Nov. 3, 1801.

rendered by the incapacity of the ministers, shall have lasted a year longer, who will say, that the people will not ask for an object? And who will pledge his life, that the armed clubs will not back the popular voice in demanding a peace? Certainly, the people will make any sacrifice, "under a conviction of "the indispensable importance of upholding the dignity, and providing effectually "for the safety of the empire;" but, this conviction must be produced and kept alive in their minds. Mere words will not satisfy them. They must see, that, in return for their sacrifices, the government makes some real impression some where or other. They must, in short, see something done, which is likely, in the end, to afford them permanent and uninterrupted security; and, that very little of this sort of encouragement can possibly be drawn from the present plans and measures, or from the character of the men, by whom those plans and measures are devised, will be readily allowed by every one at all acquainted with the matter.—FIFTHLY: the *convention with Sweden* is said, to "uphold our maritime rights," and to be founded "on those principles of reciprocal "advantage, which are best calculated to "maintain and improve the good under-"standing, which happily subsists between "the two countries." The remaining part of this statement is vague: it may mean any thing, or it may mean nothing; but, the former part is explicit, and, as to meaning, conclusive. It asserts, that this convention, which professes to be explanatory of the eleventh article of the treaty of 1661, "*upholds* our maritime rights." In the preceding sheet, p. 723 to 727, the stipulations of this convention were contrasted with those, relative to the same points, of our treaty of 1794 with the United States of America; and, this contrast did, I presume, clearly discover, in the former, a very great and dangerous departure from that ancient, that still existing, and acknowledged law of nations, on which the stipulations of the treaty with America were founded: begging leave, therefore, to refer the reader to the observations I then made, I shall, in this place, content myself with adding, that we have, in the present convention, abandoned, instead of upheld, our maritime rights; and that we have therein established a precedent for concessions, which, without making any allowance for encroachments on the precedent itself, will, unless prevented by a timely application of wise and resolute measures, completely destroy the foundation of our maritime greatness. I am aware, that this will be called assertion without proof; but, as to the point of abandonment of our rights, I have already given some proof; and, as to the *consequences*, which will result therefrom, the description of them is reserved 'till I come to discuss the question relative to the pending negotiation with America, to the success of which important negotiation I will, however, even now, venture to say, that this convention with Sweden will prove one of the most formidable obstacles.—SIXTHLY: the ministers, in order to give us a description of *the object of the war*, have prevailed upon his Majesty to utter the very sentiments, and almost the words, of one of the daily newspapers, in which the public were, a few days before the the speech was delivered, informed, that the true and "legitimate" object of the war was, "to bring the threat of invasion "to a final issue, to prove our contempt of "the menace of invasion, and to prove that "the attempt of invasion *must* end in the "destruction of the invaders." Upon this principle exactly the speech proceeds, and points out, as the only object in view, or in hope, the saving of ourselves from subjugation: "not only the *glory* of surmounting "present difficulties, and of repelling im-"mediate danger, but the solid and perma-"nent *advantage* of fixing the safety and "independence of the kingdom, on the ba-"sis of acknowledged strength, the result "of its own tried and energetic resources." What! Is this, then, the object of this mighty, this monstrously expensive, this harrassing, this tormenting war? Is it for this, that we are to have half a million of men in arms? When did Englishmen ever before hear language like this? More than a hundred times has this their beloved King addressed himself to them in parliament, and when did he before make the glory of himself and his faithful people, to consist in surmounting present difficulties and repelling immediate danger? When, at what former disgraceful period of our history, was it regarded as an *advantage* to convince the world that we were able to preserve our independence; to prevent our enemy from making us his vassals, or carrying us into bondage? At what time were the safety and independence of this kingdom *not* fixed upon the basis of acknowledged strength? When was it, before now, suspected, that its strength was not sufficient to its defence? If we are at war for the sole purpose of existing out of chains a few months, or a few years, longer, miserable, indeed, is the object; and that the time cannot be very long, that our years are numbered, must be evident to every one, who, with this declaration of our object before him, recollects, that the enemy has it entirely at his own choice,

whether he shall ever attempt to invade us, or not; and, of course, whether we shall enjoy even that wretched glory and advantage, with which the ministers would fain have us be content. There is not, in any part of the speech, any allusion to those claims, to "just and moderate pretensions," to enforce which his Majesty was advised to tell the world that he declared war. Switzerland, Italy, Holland, the independence of Europe, the protection of Egypt, and even the possession of Malta, all have melted away before the grand and glorious object of braving the menace of invasion, which menace, let the poor tame nation recollect, never was uttered till *after* the ministers had resolved to go to war for other and very different causes!

UNANIMITY.—This is the ministerial counter-sign. 'Come, come,' say their partizans, '*the country is in danger*; let us be 'unanimous!' Unanimous in wish, word, and deed, to preserve the country, with all my heart; but not to preserve the ministry, not to prolong those weak and wicked councils, by which the country has been placed in such a state of peril, by which the "*glory*" of Englishmen has, at last, been made to consist in the hope of saving themselves from being the slaves of Frenchmen. The great Lord Chatham was of opinion, that, in time of war, nothing could be more proper than an inquiry into the character and talents of those to whom the conducting of the war, to whom the preservation of the throne and the people, were committed; Mr. Burke reprobated the idea of abstaining from such inquires, merely because the country was in danger; "for," said he, "if you admit this doctrine, the greater the "danger in which ministers shall place the "country, and, of course, the greater their "crimes or incapacity, the greater is their "security, and the greater the confidence "which you are to repose in them!" Preposterous as Mr. Burke thought this doctrine; preposterous, and, indeed, insolent, as is the pretension, it is precisely that which is now set up by the partizans of the ministers. There is to be no opposition, no inquiry, no speaking but to approve of the conduct of the ministry; nothing is to be done to disturb that slumber, into which we have sunk upon the Doctor's somniferous pillow, and from which we shall certainly awake only to a sense of our perdition, unless we instantly bestir ourselves.——Unanimity! I am for unanimity, as perfect as ever it can be expected, even as to parties; but it is an union of great talents and of great public character, in the service of the state, in the councils of his Majesty, and not in submission to the Doctor. It is truly curious, that of this administration, which is continually crying for unanimity, the vital principle is *division*, the dividing and keeping asunder of all the great men in the country. Mr. Vansittart, who wrote in defence of Mr. Pitt's finance system, and Mr. Tierney, who never opened his mouth but to decry it; Lord Castlereagh, who solemnly pledged himself to the Catholics of Ireland, and Mr. Addington whose promotion arose out of his pledged opposition to their views; Mr. Yorke who constantly defended the war with France, and Mr. Hobhouse, who constantly opposed it; men, in short, who have been as much opposed to each other as it is possible, now set very snugly together on the Treasury Bench, and gravely exhort their hearers to banish all party animosity, while, at the very same moment, they are, both in and out of doors, incessantly at work to keep alive and to increase the animosity existing between the men of great and rival talents, who, with sorrow and with shame be it spoken, are, in this respect, rendered the puppets of a set of miserable underlings. Yes, I too, in common with every faithful and zealous subject, in common with every man attached to the liberty and honour of his country, wish to see the men of great talents and consequence chase from their minds all recollection of party differences and feuds; I most sincerely wish to see them banish *all* animosity, animosity of every sort, and towards every body, but particularly *towards one another*. This is the unanimity, which I wish, and which the nation wishes to see; an unanimity that would rouze us from the death-like torpor, in which we are now sunk; that would give us confidence in ourselves, and restore us to consequence in the eyes of other nations. This sort of unanimity would relieve us from that state of doubt and uncertainty, from that dread of the enemy, that distrust of ourselves, and from that load of contempt, which we feel pressing upon us from every quarter of the world, and under which it is impossible for us long to survive.

As it appears, that, in the letter of Philo-Patriæ, relative to the Oxford Volunteers, there was some mis-statement, a correction will be inserted, whenever it shall be received.

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